

## PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO

Hanoi July 13, 1968

To President Nguyen Huu Tho,  
Members of the South Viet Nam N.F.I., and  
the Command of the South Viet Nam P.L.A.F.

**C**LOSELY united and fighting valiantly, the armed forces and people in Quang Tri—Thua Thien—Hué have won a resounding victory, forcing some ten thousand most crack troops of the U.S. to flee from Khe Sanh with very serious losses. This is a heavy defeat to the U.S., and a big victory to us.

The victory at Khe Sanh has clearly shown the resourcefulness and the invincible strength of our armed forces, people and cadres. It has made a worthy contribution to the big victories of the whole of South Viet Nam since early Spring. Together with the victories on other battlefields, it has paved the way for yet bigger ones. To North Viet Nam which has just won the victory in downing 3,000 aircraft of the U.S. aggressors, the glorious Khe Sanh victory has greatly inspired the North Vietnamese armed forces and people to make greater efforts and shoot down many more piratic U.S. aircraft. Despite their defeats, the U.S. aggressors remain very cowardly. Our people, U.S. aggressors remain, therefore, should always sharpen their vigilance, fight continuously, with vigour and success.

The South and the North are of one mind in making all-out efforts to fight the aggressor. Final victory is sure to be ours.

May I request you to convey to the people, fighters and cadres across South Viet Nam, particularly the ones at the Khe Sanh front, my warmest congratulations.

Please accept my affectionate and  
"determination to win" wishes

HO CHI MINH

# VIETNAM

# COURIER

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P.L.A.F. assaulting Height 622 at Khe Sanh

## KHE SANH BASE FELL ON JULY 9

U.S. LOSSES SINCE JANUARY 1968:

**17,000 Men Put out of Action, 488 Planes and Helicopters Shot Down or Destroyed on the Ground. Over 100 Military Vehicles, 60 Cannons and Mortars, 50 Ammunition and Fuel Dumps Destroyed or Burnt, Thousands of Weapons and Hundreds of Tons of Food and War Materials Seized.**

(Page 1)

TWO YEARS AFTER

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S APPEAL

## NATIONAL UNITY, KEY FACTOR OF VICTORY

**W**ITH raids on Hanoi and Haiphong two years ago, Washington's "escalation" began to climb its highest rungs. Our people had to face the most cruel aggression ever known in their history - even in universal history, in terms of the war means used by the aggressors.

President Ho Chi Minh stressed in his July 17, 1966 appeal, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." In response to his call, our people took up the U.S. challenge.

United as one man, they have successfully foiled the enemy's offensives. The American imperialists have achieved no objective, neither in North nor in South Viet Nam. On the contrary, their defeat has become obvious and our victory certain.

More than 3,000 U.S. planes have been shot down over North Viet Nam—that resistance base of the whole country which Washington wanted to subdue or to "bomb back into the Stone

Age" but which has grown steadier than ever. Never before has the political and moral unity of our people been more complete. With every passing day, the various strata of our people have been closing their ranks around the Party, the Government and President Ho Chi Minh to defeat the U.S. war of destruction, fulfil their duties towards their kith and kin in the South and build up socialism. Tempered in the trial, they have grown up.

Living up to their vanguard revolutionary role, our glorious working class has shown its courage and its creativity in production and in the fighting. In spite of the enemy's savage raids, our transport and communications not only have not been halted but have even substantially increased. Industry has not only been kept going but has even made rapid progress, particularly at the province, district and village level. Let us cite one example: Quang

(Continued page 2)

## The 1954 Geneva Agreements Acknowledged the Victory of the Vietnamese People's Struggle for Independence and Freedom

**T**HE 1954 Geneva Agreements were concluded 14 years ago, about 3 months after the historic battle of Dien Bien Phu.

Putting an end to a colonial war, they victoriously crowned the long resistance waged by the entire Vietnamese people from North to South under the direction of the Government of the D.R.V.N. They granted recognition to the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam.

At the closing session, all the participants in the 1954 Geneva Conference undertook to respect the said agreements and to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people.

On behalf of the U.S. Government, General Bedell Smith declared that his country also undertook to respect the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam as well as those on Cambodia and Laos, and to refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb the accords.

But, one day later, General Eisenhower, the then President of the U.S.A., declared that "the United States has not itself been party to, or bound by, the decisions taken by the conference [of Ge-

neva]..."

The American imperialists were determined to thoroughly sabotage the Geneva Agreements.

With a train of U.S. puppets, expeditionary troops and extremely odious crimes, for fourteen years now, systematic and overt rejection of the Geneva Agreements has always been a constant in Washington's Viet Nam policy.

### A NEW LANGUAGE

**B**UT, its venture taking a bad, very bad turn in South Viet Nam, Washington seems to change its tone. If, in his Baltimore speech, Mr. Johnson only made a vague reference to the Geneva Agreements: "The affirmation of old agreements," the communique issued by the White House

on Jan. 3, 1966 put it more explicitly: "The Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 are an adequate basis for peace in Southeast Asia." At the Paris official conversations, Mr. Averell Harriman laid emphasis on the "actual" value, so to speak, of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam right in his first speech. He has on many occasions harried back to this question, always to clarify a little more the views of his Government.

The American thesis boils down to this: South Viet Nam is victim of an aggression from the North; therefore to settle the problem of the war in Viet Nam, it is necessary to revert to the "fundamental principles of the solution of 1954."

For Washington, the Accord on the cessation of

(Continued page 2)

**★ RESOLUTELY MARCH FORWARD AND COMPLETELY DEFEAT THE AMERICAN WAR OF DESTRUCTION**

General VAN TIEN DUNG  
(See Supplement)

# NATIONALITY, KEY FACTOR OF VICTORY

(Continued from page 1)

him, province near the 17th parallel which had practically no industry, can now boast 35 factories. The working class has grown to 100,000 and employees rose by 500,000 in comparison with 1964, 70 per cent of our labour force are made up of young workers, healthy and possessed of an adequate cultural and technical level. With the growth of the working class, the role of trade unions in national life has been enhanced.

The class of co-op peasants has provided the bulk of draftsmen to the army. While contributing to the defence of our rear base — peasant militia units have so far shot down 247 U.S. planes — they have been striving to push up agricultural production. In 1965, 2,500 co-operatives, 865 villages and 30 districts (plus 2 provinces) reaped 10 million tons of paddy per hectare (in 1963, only 400,000, 16 villages, 7 districts and 100,000 of the 5,000 man — U.S.

the colonialist and feudal regime of 1.3 tons/ha). Co-op farmers have also been a major factor in the military victory. In the battle of the 17th parallel, it was 90-4. As to the intellectuals, their tremendous efforts have brought new techniques to agriculture, industry, transport, the role of trade unions and also resulted in an unprecedented development in education, public health, scientific research, literature, arts and other cultural and social activities.

Our youth have always been in the forefront. They have taken the pledge to be ready: — To valiantly fight U.S. aggressors and join the army when necessary. — To overcome all difficulties, step up production, and work hard to win under any circumstances.

— To assume any task and go to any place the Fatherland wants them to.

In the army, on round-the-clock roads, in factories, in the schools, on the youth have been the backbone of the nation's indomitable struggle. They regard themselves as requisitioned. For the South, they have been working for the Fatherland, they have been working with courage and self-sacrifice. Steeled by the struggle, they have been bringing their energies for the future.

Promoting women's role was a policy favoured and carried out by the South Vietnamese Communist Party — now the Viet Nam Workers' Party — right at its founding in 1960. Along with the political and social struggle, with the participation of the French colonialists and particularly the present one against the U.S. aggressors, women have been working with the building of socialism, the strengthening of the various national minorities have effectively contributed

to the fight against U.S. planes and enemy commandos. Catholic areas have also seen our militia units win.

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the highest symbol of our national unity, includes various political parties and mass organizations. It has stated in its manifesto: — "The multi-currency history of our people shows that each time our nation is faced with a hard task our people succeed in defeating their internal and foreign enemies by achieving great national unity in the fighting."

We must go far back to ancient history to prove it. Thanks to their broad unity, the people successfully carried out the August 1945 Revolution and the first resistance. Over the last four years our people in the North and the South have won their struggle against U.S. aggression, for the first time in the history of their people, to their solid unity.

Answering President Ho Chi Minh's appeal, we people must further our unity and heighten our vigilance. The U.S. aggressors will be our. Political and moral identity of mind and the strengthening of the various national minorities have effectively contributed

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# THE NORTH — GREAT REAR BASE OF THE SOUTH

## War Time Socialist Construction in North Viet Nam

(Figures)

Average annual increase in total gross value of some centrally-run industrial branches between 1964 and 1967:

a) Engineering and hardware	8%
b) Chemicals	6%
c) Glassware, chinaware, leather goods	8.4%
d) Printed matters and cultural articles	23%

In 1967, the total gross value of regional industry (State sector) went up 4.5 per cent compared with 1966.

## AGRICULTURE

From 640 in 1965, the number of agricultural co-operatives harvesting 5 tons of paddy per hectare rose to 2,500 in 1967 (as against 1.3 tons under the colonialist and feudal regime).

This figure can be broken up on the basis of administrative units as follows:

162 (1965) and 465 (1967)	villages
7	districts
2	provinces
8	from 8.6 in 1964 and 93.7 in 1967.

## EDUCATION

Enrolment in general education from 2,673,094 in 1964 — 60,000 in 1965 — 1,067,100 in 1967 — 1,200,000 children attend infant classes and 1,200,000 middle schools.

In the 1967-1968 school year enrolment in higher education establishments and intermediate vocational schools was respectively 43,300 and 13,000 per cent higher than in the 1965-1966 school year.

One out of three inhabitants in the D.R.V.N. attends school.

farmer today is socialist victor.

The firm resolve to resist U.S. aggression and save the country and the sense of being collective masters of socialism are the moral force motivating them to make bigger efforts in their daily work.

That is the source of their self-discipline, their courage in the production and the fighting, their readiness to make sacrifices at the front and their feeling of reassured about their families.

Have you got a sweetheart or a fiancée? You may be assured that she will wait for you, and the community will help you, and her preserve your love. Have you got an old mother to care for? Well, in whatever circumstances, even if you lay down your life for the country, you can be certain that she will spend the rest of her days in the most tender care of the co-op and your children, if they are brought up adequately.

More than three years of war have witnessed the growth of the co-operatives and bounds of the countryside in socialist North Viet Nam.

Relations in the co-operative form of production achieved by the co-operatives are the basis of the socialist production relations on the correct line mapped out by the major enemy of the co-operative farmers along the correct line.

A progressive organization, heroic men and women, a sensible guideline, and so, to speak, the three components of the co-operative present-day countryside of North Viet Nam.

\* These are former landlords who have now changed their nature and still do not judge not yet eligible for co-op membership or convicted enemies of the people. They are the pilot jet, he would be the enemy of the co-operative militia whether he would be on a hamlet, a ricefield, a village or a province.

Photo: New look of Hanoi (Hanoi province).

# EAST CO-OP FARM — A FORTRESS AGAINST AMERICAN AGGRESSION

PHAN QUANG

side continues to forge ahead.

## SOME FIGURES

In 1964 North Viet Nam had 86,076 of peasant households organized into co-operatives. Of this 53,885 were members of co-ops of higher level. Each co-op had an average membership of 83 households and an average of 43 hectares of cultivated land. By the end of 1967, 93,98% of peasant households had joined the co-ops. 80.4% of them, co-ops of higher level. The average size of a co-op in the plains was 270 households and the holding is 116 hectares. In the mountain regions where the population is thinner, a co-op has an average size of 43 households and a holding of 37 hectares. These figures bear witness to the fact that co-ops, in themselves a great many, have transformed small private farming into collective socialist farming. The process began on a large scale in the middle of 1959 and was in the main completed at a low level, at the end of 1960. This is the most widespread and profound revolution ever known in the history of the Vietnamese society. It has not only helped re-organize scattered, small, mainly agricultural production into a better and better planned and expanding collective production, but also more and more capable of serving as the base for the development of industry, it has also created a new social class — the class of co-operative farmers, the most trusted, closest and staunchest ally of the working class in the building of socialism.

## THE MOST EXTENSIVE REVOLUTION

THOUGH the Vietnamese countryside has thousands of years of history, its present economic structure is only ten years old. Indeed, the agricultural co-operative has transformed small private farming into collective socialist farming. The process began on a large scale in the middle of 1959 and was in the main completed at a low level, at the end of 1960. This is the most widespread and profound revolution ever known in the history of the Vietnamese society. It has not only helped re-organize scattered, small, mainly agricultural production into a better and better planned and expanding collective production, but also more and more capable of serving as the base for the development of industry, it has also created a new social class — the class of co-operative farmers, the most trusted, closest and staunchest ally of the working class in the building of socialism.

Right from the outset, agricultural co-operation has met with a warm response from the Vietnamese people. However, as in any major change, it took time for the people to understand the new production relations to bring into full play its effect. The North Viet Nam peasants had only gone through four years of co-operation and were starting the last year of the first five-year plan when the U.S. aggressors launched a large-scale war of destruction. This war is intended to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees or short of this, to "bomb them back into the Stone Age" and what have the aggressors achieved? This is a question to the whole world: over 3,000 modern U.S. planes have been shot down, the North Viet Nam country-

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# PARALLEL SECTIONS

THE 11th session of the official conversations between the representatives of the D.R.V.N. Government and the representative of the U.S. Government was held in Paris on July 10.

Speaking first, Mr. Harriman once again asserted that the U.S. was seeking no interests in Viet Nam, that it had come to Viet Nam for the sole purpose of resisting violence and "foreign coercion" and to "help" the South Vietnamese people develop politically, economically, culturally, etc. He boasted about the program for the development of Asia mentioned by President Johnson in his April 7, 1965 Baltimore speech, the Bank for the Development of Asia, the scheme for the development of the Mekong, and other economic, cultural and social projects. But, concerning the unconditional cessation of the bombings and all other acts of war by the U.S. on the whole territory of the D.R.V.N., he kept saying vaguely that the U.S. would take such a step at an "appropriate time" and under "appropriate circumstances."

D.R.V.N. Minister of State Nuan Thuan immediately posed the so-called U.S. concern for the welfare of South-East Asia. He said, "We Vietnamese, believe that the future of the Indo-Chinese peoples, the other peoples in South East Asia, and mankind as a whole will be very splendid one. But such a future must be the outcome of their solidarity, struggle and peace. Such a future decidedly cannot be brought about by the U.S."

Mr. Nuan Thuan then said that the main objective of the D.R.V.N. U.S. talks should be given immediate consideration. He made an assessment of the Saigon talks and the talks through its twelve sessions in the past two months.

He pointed out that by accepting the talks, the U.S. side had tacitly

agreed to their objective which, as stated in the relevant statements of the D.R.V.N., is "to ascertain the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing of the North Viet Nam, bringing it to an unprecedented degree of fierceness. Prior to the beginning of the highest total of U.S. air raids over North Viet Nam was 2,500. But later, the May total was 4,200, and the June total far exceeded 5,200. For some time now, the U.S. has been even concentrating its strikes — with B-52 strategic bombers, warships and big guns — on any places, particularly the Vinh Linh area and the D.M.Z.

In South Viet Nam, B-52s have been wounding bombing popular areas around Saigon, while the puppet administration is being pressured in to enacting a "general prohibition to scrap up more cannon-fodder for the U.S."

Mr. Nuan Thuan recalled that all through the two months of talks, the U.S. side had tried to make black white in an attempt to misrepresent the fundamentals of the Geneva Agreements and give a false picture of the situation in Viet Nam. It tried to "renew" the "South Viet Nam" theory and told the fantastic tale of "aggression" by North Viet Nam against South Viet Nam, to provide a "legal basis" to the U.S. bombing raids on the D.R.V.N. By the administration of the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. side tried to justify the illegal presence of U.S. aggression troops in South Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese representative

made it clear that while the U.S. was speaking about its acts of "restraint" and "unilateral de-escalation" it was in fact stepping up its bombing of the North Viet Nam, bringing it to an unprecedented degree of fierceness. Prior to the beginning of the highest total of U.S. air raids over North Viet Nam was 2,500. But later, the May total was 4,200, and the June total far exceeded 5,200. For some time now, the U.S. has been even concentrating its strikes — with B-52 strategic bombers, warships and big guns — on any places, particularly the Vinh Linh area and the D.M.Z.

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Mr. Nuan Thuan said, "For two months now the talks have not been going well. Yet, the U.S. is again 'reciprocity' thinly camouflaged."

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The Vietnamese representative

The struggle waged by the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country against U.S. aggression is consonant with the fundamental principle of the entire people of Viet Nam as well as the aspirations of the peace-loving people all over the world.

The D.R.V.N. chief negotiator then declared: "Once again, I recall that the Vietnamese people's position regarding the settlement of the Viet Nam problem has been expounded in the four points of the Government of the D.R.V.N. and the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. First of all, the United States must unconditionally cease bombing raids and all other acts of war against the D.R.V.N. so that the discussion can then proceed to other questions of interest to both parties. The American side has wittingly bombarded the Vietnamese people's position to stop the bombing at the appropriate time and in appropriate circumstances. I have said that there are no other circumstances more appropriate than the present ones, when the conversations have lasted two months and the U.S. side has spread rumours about the 'similarity' between the opposing views, about the 'new ideas' progress," about "new ideas" of the U.S. side. These moves of the Johnson administration are aimed at soothing the U.S. public feeling which is running high against U.S. aggression in Viet Nam and demanding "from the U.S. Government a more serious attitude, consistent with the aim of the talks."

"If the U.S. desires peace," the Vietnamese envoy emphasized, "the Vietnamese people will be ready for peace. But the U.S. Government continues the war, the Vietnamese people will resolutely defeat the U.S. war of aggression."

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VIET NAM COURIER

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# KHE SANH BASE FELL ON JULY 9

ON July 9, as the day was dawning, the N.F.L. flag was hoisted over Ta Con, the main stronghold of the Khe Sanh base, occupied by U.S. forces since September 1966. The P.L.A.F. were then overrunning the last position held by U.S. Marines on Hill 900, 200 meters south-west of Ta Con.

The embarrassment of Abrams' headquarters could be seen in a series of contradictory communications and statements. A first communiqué announced that on July 7, the U.S. Marines had completely evacuated Khe Sanh base whereas another communiqué asserted a few days later that the last Marine had left Khe Sanh on July 6. On the following day a third communiqué gave July 7 as the day of the complete withdrawal of the U.S. forces, but the spokesman of the U.S. Command declared, AFP reported, that the operation had not ended and it had received no report of this kind. U.S. troops being still attached in the base. Everything pointed to the fact that Abrams tried to induce the public to believe that the evacuation had followed the normal course.

Facts proved that U.S. Marines had left Khe Sanh had ended in a disaster, as shown in the following communiqué issued on July 9 by the P.L.A.F. command of the Khe Sanh sector.

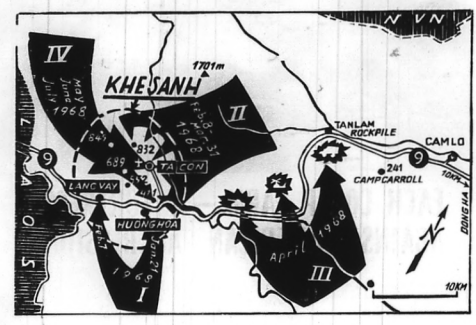
AFTER 170 days of relentless, very violent and very fierce fighting against the Khe Sanh base, the U.S. Marines at Khe Sanh, the main forces of the P.L.A.F. at Khe Sanh have won very big successes. They have foiled the foolish and elaborate strategic plan of the U.S. aggressors on the northern Quang Tri battlefield, and forced them to accept defeat at Khe Sanh.

## FOUR DRIVES OF SUSTAINED AND FIERCE ATTACKS

The glorious victory won by our armed forces and people at Khe Sanh was the outcome of 4 drives of sustained and fierce attacks.

1. The first drive, part of the early Spring, general offensive and widespread uprisings of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, began on January 21, 1968, with the overrunning of the Hoang Hoa military sector, which was followed, on February 7, 1968, by the wiping out of the enemy's position at Lang Troi, the enemy's complex of fortified positions at Khe Sanh shook heavily under the blows of these blows. The remaining cluster of fortified positions at Ta Con, because isolated and was encircled on all sides.

2. The second drive was motivated by the encirclement of the Ta Con cluster from February 8 to March 31, 1968, with the P.L.A.F. tightening their siege, interdicting air supply and cutting the roads



P.L.A.F. advance offensive against Khe Sanh

puppet companies. Our armed forces, in addition, have shot down or destroyed on the ground all aircraft and tanks; wrecked over 100 military vehicles including many tanks and armored cars, and over 60 big guns and mortars of large calibers; destroyed over 200 petrol and ammunition storages; and captured thousands of tons of food and hundreds of tons of food and military equipment.

3. Our armed forces have breached the U.S. defenses along Highway 9, thus posing a serious threat to the whole network. The dark scheme of the U.S. aggressors to check P.L.A.F. attacks has thus been foiled.

4. The People's Liberation Armed Forces have made serious and more serious strategic deadlock. They were beset with more and more serious shortages of troops and war means. More serious was the fact that their general reserves were too thin to spare. Finding it impossible to hold Khe Sanh, the U.S. aggressors finally had to beat retreat to escape total destruction.

5. The successes won at Khe Sanh by the U.S. aggressors in the Northern Quang Tri are intimately associated with the brilliant victories of the general offensive and widespread uprisings of the South Vietnamese people all over South Viet Nam in general, and those in Quang Tri in particular. They are the U.S. aggressors' armed forces and people's resounding feat of driving out of the U.S. aggressors over 3,000 aircraft of the U.S. aggressors over North Viet Nam.

## THREE FACETS OF ENEMY DEFEAT

With the fall of Khe Sanh, the U.S. aggressors have sustained another heavy, all-round,

position defensive had only invited heavier blows, under their efforts to hold out had only brought them bitter losses. Hence, their greater confusion and impasse. In moving their troops to the best strategic and tactical was to pull out of Khe Sanh.

3. The loss of Khe Sanh constitutes a major political reversal for the U.S. aggressors. Despite the order of the U.S. president and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to hold Khe Sanh at all costs, despite the U.S. aggressors' massive "seasoned" U.S. arms, and armed services, and despite a high concentration of material and technical means, the U.S. aggressors were unable to make their minds to its fall. This once more shows the Vietnamese and world peoples what actually the U.S. military might is like. This, at the same time, renders more acute the conflicts among the U.S. ruling circles, among various arms and armed services of the U.S., and between the U.S. and the Saigon puppets. This increases the confusion among the U.S. aggressors, impairs their belief in their strategies and tactics, and further aggravates the consternation of the troops of the U.S. and its puppets and satellites.

The big victory won at Khe Sanh by the armed forces and people of Northern Quang Tri is a brilliant victory of the line of inevitable people's war fought under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation of our armed forces and people's firm determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors of the People's Liberation Armed Forces' glowing revolutionary heroism and their fighting methods and their resourcefulness, of the good co-ordination among the various battlefields throughout South Viet Nam, of the strength of the solidarity among various nationalities in our country.

# U.S. FROZIED AGAINST THE PEOPLE USE OF B.52s AGAINST THE VIETNAMESE IN BOTH ZONES

AFTER taking over the command of the U.S. expeditionary forces in Viet Nam, General Creighton W. Abrams threatened the Saigon, "We are going to use B-52s to drop the bombs on them that all we need is to send in an unarmored long-range patrol team with note-books to keep score." (Peter Arnett, AFP, June 29, 1968) To make his words with deeds, he sent B-52 strategic planes on savage raids on the areas located between 8 and 10 km from Saigon called "free-bombing zones" (AP, July 1 and Reuter July 2). The U.S. ARVN, an independent and sovereign country, was not spared either.

In fact, since July 1, 1968, B-52s have been wantonly bombing nearly all the villages in Vinh Linh area, even in the demilitarized zone; thus 2,000 tons of bombs were dropped on July 1, 2,000 tons on July 2 and about 2,000 tons on July 3. Meanwhile jets of various types rained thousands of demolitions bombs on Vinh Linh, artillery from the Seventh Fleet or based south of the demilitarized zone fired tens of thousands of shells on so much so that despite a maze of underground shelters, losses in lives and property were suffered by the people, especially by those working in the open air: Nguyen Khac was killed by B-52 as he was harvesting, Misses Nguyen Thi Ton, Tran Thi Luong and Nguyen Thi Hoa as they were transplanting rice seedlings, Miss Tho as she was drawing water from a well and Mrs Kieu as she was carrying rice seedlings to the field. The 5-year-old girl Nguyen Thi Tinh was also killed as she was following her mother to a cassava field.

The victims of B-52s or other U.S. weapons in Vinh Linh as well as in Saigon, Chu Lon, Gia Dinh, and those who are homeless are the victims of means of living are concrete proof of the U.S. aggressive policy of the B-52s cannot be separated from other war activities such as pressing their Thai and South Korea lackeys for

These people (North Vietnamese - Ed.) strike me as being very tough, very hard, very independent and very courageous. They said, and I rather believe them, that you cannot drag them to the conference table, that they can't be beaten into submission. They would rather go back to the trenches and fight a guerrilla war for 20 years against the United States as they did against the French. Harrison E. Salisbury, *New York Times*, July 10, 1968 (AP, July 11, 1967)

I was perfectly normal. It was the U.S. military to expect that, once the administration decided that it really meant to pick up the table of war against the communists in Viet Nam, it would to U.S. strategic principles that would dominate the conflict.

Instead, it has been the relatively unquipped Asian adversary, often carrying all his supplies on his back, who has lately called the tune. The war off this new doctrine (that of retaliation by range-Ed.), contrary to much of the available military judgment, has resulted in:

a) the loss of significant combat advantages inherent in the military organization and equipment;

b) loss of strategic initiative by the stronger party in this war, the U.S.; and

c) the escalation of the war from a relatively minor action to a major undertaking for this country. Now the step-up in war efforts in areas that had been of limits indicates that this doctrine has been judged a failure.

Max S. Johnson, ex-commander, U.S. Ground Forces Military Institute, retired, now a military commentator of U.S. News and World Report (May 8, 1967).

U.S. News and World Report remarked in its issue of August 22, 1968: "It is clear now to military men: bombing will not win in Viet Nam. This is a devastating truth. Why have our military leaders and long ago freed themselves from the illusion of the omnipotence of air power, so often by citing the support that wars can be won on the cheap?"

"Victory through bombing... the dream of an anticpetic war and a painless triumph... is a cruel form of self-deception. Those who think that military victory the proper goal must have the moral and intellectual honesty (as, for example, Hanoi's Baidinh) to recognize the possibility that it can come only in South Viet Nam and

knocked down five or six times. The damned center spent most of week and they put them again in hours."

the political term, stopping the bombing certainly would be pure gain. There is a

# Samples of U.S. Opinion on Bombings and War Escalation in North Viet Nam

groving uneasiness among our European allies about the course we are following in Viet Nam. Only Korea, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand is there anything resembling wholehearted support (from the reactionary governments and not from the peoples at all - Ed.). Among the neutrals there is much uneasiness. The U.S. is trying things that the North Vietnamese - Ed.) public sympathy throughout the world - including, as we all know, from within the United States itself.

Roger Hilsman, former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, in *Foreign Affairs* (April 1968).

As to breaking their will, I have seen no evidence in any of the many intelligence reports that would lead me to believe that a less selective bombing campaign would change the resolve of the North Vietnamese leaders or deprive them of the support of the North Vietnamese people.

Robert S. McNamara, testimony before the Senate Committee on Armed Services (August 1967).

U.S. pilot: But I am getting ready, Sir: practising unslanding.

A special dish for L.B.J.'s June 25, 1968 dinner.

Johnson: U.S. air superiority is always on the upgrade!

U.S. commander: What are you doing there already? You're already in Viet Nam.

Cartoons by Le Quang Bai, Nguyen Nghiem and Le Van Hiep - From the Quan Doi Nhan Dan (People's Army)





## Military Operations

**\* Ta Con Seized by P.L.A.F. — The Whole of Khe Sanh Liberated — U.S. Losses Between June 26 and July 9: 1,700 G.I.s Put out of Action, 35 Planes and Choppers Shot Down or Destroyed.**

**\* 750 Enemy Troops Killed, Wounded or Taken Prisoner in 9 Days in Other Areas of Quang Tri Province.**

**\* 200 Military Vehicles and 36 Copters Destroyed or Damaged, a Regiment's and a Battalion's Commanding Units and 2 Companies of Puppet Division 1 Destroyed Near Hue.**

AS announced in the communiqué of the Khe Sanh Front Command published in page 4, the whole of this sector was liberated early on July 9 when the P.L.A.F. hoisted their flag on Ta Con, the key position of the U.S. entrenched camp. Thus, from June 26 (when U.S. troops began their retreat) to July 9, the Americans lost nearly 1,700 men killed or wounded in this sector.

Between July 3 and 9, 1,000 U.S. Marines were put out of action, and 22 aircraft destroyed on the ground or shot down. Tough fighting took place on the night of July 3 at Hills 832, 845 and 889 where 150 G.I.s were killed or wounded and two helicopters cut down by P.L.A.F. automatic arms fire.

In an ambush on July 3, 23 vehicles of an enemy convoy withdrawing from Ta Con were destroyed on Highway No. 9. On the afternoon of July 4 alone, the U.S. lost over this sector 10 jets — 6 F4 Phantom fighter-bombers and A4 Skyhawks.

The combats at hills 845, 832, 689 and 639 on

July 3 and 6 cost the enemy 2 companies wiped out and 4 helicopters and a Phantom fighter-bomber shot down.

On July 7, which the enemy forces in several positions were assembling for evacuation by helicopters, Liberation gunners pounded Hills 689, 845, 832 and 471. Then Liberation infantrymen charged, and engaged the enemy troops in fierce hand-to-hand fighting, and later in the day completely liberated Hills 845, 832, 532 and 471, brought down 2 planes and seized 2 choppers in good shape.

Giving no breathing space to the enemy in complete disarray, the P.L.A.F. pressed on their attacks against the remaining enemy positions on July 8 and 9, turning the Marine retreat into a great debacle.

**FURTHER** East, in the Dong Ha — Con Tien sector, the enemy lost 300 men put out of action and 2 armoured cars destroyed between June 27 and July 3. In An Ho, south of Quang Tri provincial capital, on June 27, the P.L.A.F. killed, wounded or captured

250 enemy soldiers, destroyed 2 armoured cars and shot down 2 helicopters.

**I**N Hue sector, the commanding unit of 3rd Regiment, puppet Division 1, and that of 2nd Battalion, same division, and two companies were destroyed on July 2 at Hill 416, 27km west of Hue.

Giai Phong Press Agency also reported that on June 18, Camp Evans, base of the U.S. First Air Cavalry situated at Dong Lam (24km northwest of Hue), came under another shelling and suffered heavy losses: 200 vehicles and 36 helicopters destroyed or damaged.

**N**EAR Saigon, elements of U.S. 9th Infantry Division were intercepted on July 3 during violent engagements southwest of the city. In this action, the P.L.A.F. shot down a helicopter transporting high-ranking U.S. officers, killing several of them including a lieutenant-colonel (identified as Van Deusen, brother-in-law of General Westmoreland, former commander of U.S. forces in South Viet Nam.)

**F**ROM Nam's black beard people would think he was about sixty. But his shining eyes under bushy brows make him look fifty. Quite right. Recently when he fought an American chopper, he was exactly fifty.

It was a cloudless morning. A chopper rattled in from Quang Tri town, along Highway No. 9. Nam was working with his co-villagers in a field nearby. The plane's noise got on his nerves as these last few months he had been such flights over villages near enemy's encampment to kidnap suspects. Nam's guerilla team was preparing to inflict punishment on the gangsters.

Nam's regret the hand-grenade did not explode. As he was about to be caught by the Yankee who had jumped to his feet from under the plane, he sprang up and ran at full speed in the direction of the village, with other G.I.s on his heels firing frantic shots. Then he tripped and tumbled on a clod. He was dragged along and flung into the helicopter which immediately reared up. Nam stole a look at the Yankees but did not understand what they were saying to one another about him. A fellow sitting opposite him said in Vietnamese with a broad Yankee accent: "You, Vietcong, are

## An "Old" Guerilla on Highway No 9

That morning, before going to the field, on order from the chief guerilla, he had brought along a hand-grenade which he carried hidden in his belt for self-defence. The chopper spotted him and swooped down like a vulture falling on its prey. He heard from an electric megaphone an exhortation in imperfect Vietnamese: "Vietcong, surrender!"

The crowd dispersed in a stampede. Only Nam did not move. The chopper hovered in the air. Its rotor-blade nearly lifted the "old" guerilla up and was about to blow his cloth to shreds with the whirlwind it stirred up. It landed at twenty metres from him. Yankees swarmed out. Nam whipped out his hand-grenade, removed its safety pin, hurled it and crouched on the ground. The Yankees scrambled back to the helicopter. One of them slipped under the craft for cover.

A dead silence. Much to

so daring. You'll be put to death."

Through the plane's half open door, Nam saw Highway No 9 winding beneath like a big grey snake. He winked at a Yankee standing nearby to gauge the distance between them. All of a sudden, as moved by a supernatural power, he sprang to his feet and kicked the enemy in the chest. As the G.I. fell with his arms spread out, the guerilla watched his M-16 gun and pulled the trigger. Bullets rained on the G.I.s in the cockpit. Two of them fell on him. He wriggled out of their grasp, clasped another coming his way and both tumbled out just when the cockpit caught fire. The chopper staggered and crashed on a ricefield. A thick black cloud of smoke rose up.

When the guerillas and villagers ran to the spot they found Nam unconscious on top of a Yankee, his hands squeezing hard his adversary's neck.

H. T.

### ENEMY LOSSES IN JUNE

- 55,750 men put out of action, including 16,400 G.I.s and satellite troops.
- 13 battalions, one armoured squadron and 33 companies wiped out or decimated.
- 275 planes and helicopters downed or destroyed, 150 military vehicles including 350 tanks and armoured cars, destroyed or damaged, 61 vessels burnt or sunk.
- 80 artillery pieces, 30 ammunition and fuel depots, and 20 bridges destroyed or set afire.
- 50 military posts flattened.

### IN THE SAIGON AREA ALONE

- 17,500 enemy troops (including 7,500 G.I.s) put out of action.
- 40 aircraft downed or destroyed, 200 military vehicles destroyed or damaged, 25 vessels burnt or sunk.



G.I.s captured by the P.L.A.F.